342
412 Tools. The only tools used are the sitoiga (native pickaxe) and the wanka (hoe).

352 House furnishings. (a) The man's hut. The only furnishings in a man's hut are a mat or thin secco, a bolster made of cotton strips or kapok, a quiver, the club, some arrows, the bow, a large knife (zangoégo), and a spear. Small bags of charms and other amulets hang from the wall here and there, and there is a sort of oval straw basket, pilgou, in which clothing is stored.

(b) The woman's hut. From one end of the hut to the other there are billi, small pieces of wood fastened to the wall to hold gourds, bowls (lensé), earthenware basins (lassé), ladles (soutissi), etc.

In the rear of the room lumps of dried earth, [221] hollowed in the center, hold the vessels, and pots, dougdo, which serve both as storage bins for clothing and as granaries for the produce of the woman's own garden.

592 Plan of a compound. As one enters a compound, the huts to left are those of the women and the master's huts stand to the right. Completely outside the establishment, there are one or two straw huts, similar to those already described, which provide sleeping quarters for the dakompa (young men).

[585] The head of the establishment lives alone. It could hardly be otherwise, since he summons his wives in turn.

The women live with their young children or with girls betrothed to their husband, until, of course, these girls receive huts of their own.

343 Kitchen arrangements. It is exceedingly rare among the Mossi to find a hut used specifically for cooking. The wife's bedroom serves also as a kitchen.

592 595 252 Ordinarily the husband issues provisions to the wife who is cooking for the family, but there are exceptions to this rule. At Ouagadougou, for example, most of the wives provide the food for the husband. The latter furnishes provisions only during the winter when the fields are being worked.

[222] The wives take turns preparing the food. The woman on duty is aided by her co-wives in grinding the millet on the millstone (néré) of the section, but she alone prepares the millet cake, sagbo.

286 291 "This kind of braiding is not exported."

294 563 There are tailors as well as weavers among the Mossi. The tailor's trade, incidentally, is exercised in Mossi lands not only by the Mossi but also by the Yarsé and by some of the Haoussa who are settled in the territory.

294 Mossi tailors till the soil during the winter season and work as tailors during the dry season. Their fields net them more than their trade.

Most Mossi tailors do custom work. Cotton strips are brought to them, and they sew them into the required garment. Others purchase cotton strips, make them into various garments (skirts, cloaks, trousers, caps) and have their wives sell them at market. Those, however, are in the minority.

A cloak is called fougou in Mossi, a skirt fougoupoko from poko, "woman" and fougou, "cloak." Trousers are called koulouga.

/534/ Let us add that garment manufacture has remained a family industry in much of Mossi territory. Many Mossi can sew, and they make their own clothes by sewing up cotton strips. Let [462] us note here that as in nearly all of West Africa, it is the men who sew rather than the women. In this area of Africa, indeed, sewing is essentially a male occupation rather than a female one.

Now to present a Ouagadougou tailor, Mohammadi Bagaré.

He tills the soil and does nothing else during the winter season. He exercises his tailor's trade during the dry season.

He does custom work. Those who want a garment bring him cotton strips in sufficient numbers, and he makes the requested gar- [435] ment. He asks 1,000 cowries to make a large cloak, 500 for a small one, 200 for a skirt. To make a cap he asks only for one kola nut, which is worth 50 cowries at Ouagadougou. He takes 200 cowries for a pair of trousers.

It takes him five days' work to make a large cloak, two days for a small one, one day for a skirt, two days for a pair of trousers, one hour for a cap.

[412 439] His only working tool is the needle. Mohammadi uses European needles.

592 only one or two meters apart, close together. It is true that there
361 is sometimes a small plot within the séko....
171 The soukala or compound is called iri in Mossi, the hut rogo or dogo, and the soukala head irisoba (from soba, "chief" and iri, "compound").

462 We shall close this analysis of the Mossi family with a few notes
562 on the status of women and that of slaves.

First of all, Mossi women help with the tilling. They do not clear the fields, it is true, but they participate in all other field tasks along with the men. They do this only in the morning, however, since they spend the afternoon on household tasks or on their little individual plots, for they have small fields of large white millet, underground peas, beans, or peanuts.

They also do household tasks: they pound and crush the grain. Large millet or sorghum is, as we know, pounded first and then crushed, while small millet is crushed after being threshed.

462 The Mossi set their crushing stones in huge round clay /banco/
252 tables which are built outside the soukala and which are used by
412 the whole quarter. This is a strictly Mossi characteristic which is not found among the /558/ Bobo, Gourounsi, etc., in short, among any of the other groups who nevertheless use the same stones. Those large round tables are not high. They are about 1 or 1.20 meters in height and approximately 6 meters in diameter, with a correspondingly large circumference. The Mossi set in their crushing stones all around the circumference, and each table can thus hold ten, twelve, or even more. Every evening at nightfall the women of the soukala which are around it, women, young girls, etc., come together to crush their grain. They are usually in the simplest of garb, bare as the back of my hand, for the work is hard and demands a continuous back-and-forth motion of the arms, the upper part of the body, and the body as a whole.

To make those tables, they first build a circular wall to the desired height of the table, and then the whole inner space is filled up with earth almost to the top. This earth is pounded thoroughly, and then well-tamped casings are fashioned on the horizontal circumference in which are set the stones on which the crushing is done. The stones are firmly ensheathed in the clay, which is then allowed to dry.

462 Those large tables are called niénouga in Mossi, the stones on
252 which the crushing is done are called néré, and the movable stones
442 used for crushing are called nérébila "little néré"/.

171 We stated above that those large clay tables are peculiarly
252 Mossi and are not to be found among the Bobo, Habé, or Gourounsi.
442 Actually the latter, as we saw earlier, set their stones in small clay tables which are only 1 meter high and 1 meter in diameter and thus quite small, and which stand in every soukala inside each woman's room. They also make slightly larger tables, long ones that look like large earthen bathtubs of a sort or that even bear a certain resemblance to crude sarcophagi, and into which the stones are set. Those, too, stand within the soukala, in dark, dirty rooms. Sometimes, the Gourounsi merely set down their crushing stones under a shelter covered with wood and straw, built at the gate of their citadel-soukala. Three or four stones are placed upon two thick and solid parallel sticks which in turn are held /559/ about 50 centimeters from the ground on four solid forks thrust into the ground. In this case the woman must kneel down in order to crush the grain. I have observed this method chiefly among the Menkiéra, that is to say, in the northern part of the Leo residency.

462 To go back to female work among the Mossi. Along with the crushing of grain, they do the cooking, fetch firewood and water, do the gathering, prepare the products derived from gathering, etc. We saw earlier how those products are made, and we shall not go over it again.

252 Among the Mossi, the only known millet dishes are sarabout
171 and vessala. Couscous is unknown. This is rather strange, since the dish thus called is known practically throughout West Africa.

Sarabout (the Mossi word) is what the Malinké and Bambara call tô, the Foulbé, Toucouleur, and Foulah niri, the Sarakolé souré, the Maure /Moors/ lisi.

As for couscous, the Malinké and Bambara call it baci, the Foulbé, Toucouleur, and Foulah lakiri, the Sarakole fouto, the Moors and Arabs couscous.

To or sarabout is prepared for immediate consumption. Couscous is prepared for relatively long storage.

462 Women's tasks.—First of all, Mossi women help with the cultivation of the soil. They do not clear land for tillage, but during the winter season they do all the other agricultural tasks in competition with the men. Since they must also pound the grain, cook, and do other household tasks, however, they cannot work in the fields as long as the men. When there are several wives, they share the labor. Some devote themselves to housework while others work in the fields. When there are not enough of them to permit such a division of labor, they allow the men to leave in the morning and do not join them with the food until about 10 or 11 o'clock. After the meal and the noonday rest, they work with the men, but they leave the fields earlier to prepare the evening meal. Before returning to the village, however, the women work on their little individual plots, but only for a short time, while the men, after leaving the communal fields, linger in their own small fields until nightfall.

[252] Besides working in the fields, the women do household chores. They pound the grain in mortars and crush it on the crushing stones. We shall speak again about these mortars, pestles, and stones under "The Mode of Subsistence" /not translated/.

They do the cooking and prepare the various Mossi dishes which we shall describe later /not translated/. They go to get wood in the bush and water at the wells. /244/

Let us add that it is the women who pick the karite /shea/ nuts during the rainy season and the pods of the néré /locust bean/ in the spring (end of March, April). They, too, prepare the karite butter and the néré flour. They also brew dolo and, if need be, the various other drinks of which we have already spoken in the section on crops /not translated/ and to which we shall return under "The Mode of Subsistence" /not translated/.

[256] In addition to their cooking tasks, the Mossi women of Yatenga must perform cleaning chores. They sweep the huts and the whole establishment with bunches of straw tied in the middle with a rope. [412] This makes a small primitive broom without a handle, 30 or 40 centimeters long. They launder the clothes and make soap. They spin the cotton, whereas the men weave it. Finally, it is they who tamp the earthen floors and walls of the huts with wooden clappers (in Mossi, silimpandé in the singular, silimpama in the plural) after adding néré water. We shall see later in "Mode of Subsistence (construction of the compound)" how this is done.

422 Household utensils. —The large earthen slabs set up to crush the
415 grain belong to the compound, but the rectangular granitic stones set into the slabs are owned by individual women, as are the movable pestles used to pound grain on the stones.

422 The wooden mortars and pestles, which are very useful and, be-
412 sides, are heavy, cumbersome, and difficult to destroy, belong to the
592 compound and sometimes to the head of the work group, in other
571 words, to the group itself. In fact, the head of the work group provides part of these implements when the ones purchased by the zakasoba are insufficient.

422 As for the canari, the largest, which are like small vats and may
415 be as high as one or one and a half meters, are used to hold the dolo
592 /270/ made by the women. They belong to the compound, and they are bought by the compound head. The ordinary canari (25 to 30 centimeters high and used to fetch water or to cook) belong privately to each woman of the compound. The same applies to gourds. The women often buy their canari or gourds with their husband's cowries, but the object, once bought, belongs to them.

422 Clothing. —Clothes are owned fully on a private basis, no matter what their origin. Thus, the skirt cloth bought by the husband for his wife belongs to her.

Ornaments and jewelry. —These are also owned privately, no matter what their origin. Hence, they belong to each man, each woman, each child.

Weapons. —They are likewise owned privately.

Amulets, charms. —The case is the same as for weapons. If, however, we use the word "charm" in its broadest sense, as any object pertaining to the cult, there are family charms which are owned by the family.

Cowries, metal coins, etc. —These are likewise private property.

421 In short, property belonging to the total family is practically nonexistent among the Mossi of Yatenga. There is subfamilial (compound) property and the property of that economic section of the subfamily which is called a work group. In addition to this communal property, there are household property and strictly private property.